CIENFUEGOS PRESS

The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: First of May Group, Edited by Albert Meltzer, 88pp, illus. & photos, p/b, £2.00p (This year sometime . . .!) ISBN 0 904 564 08 8.

REVIEW
of Anarchist Literature 1976

Who is Bruno Traven?

THE PUBLISHING HOUSE "Bookguild Gutenberg" has just recently celebrated an event which met the approbation and joyful greetings of its readers. In April, 1937, it was ten years since the "Guild" published the first book by B. Traven. From then on about a dozen books from the pen of the "swell guy", as a certain genial critic was wont to call him, enthused the members of that group. But who is B. Traven? We know so very little of him – only that he lives in Mexico, that somewhere in that city of Tamaulipas he has a post-office address which keeps him in contact with the world. This secluded modesty behind his works adds much to the author's glory and at the same time makes us understand his drawing away from worldly acclaim. This appeals still more to our sympathy for him because of its contrast to the hysteric clamouring for recognition by the literary "zeros" of the Third Reich.

If I am at present attempting to through some light on a section of Traven's life, I do it with these intentions: First, not to erase from memory the information confided to me by another champion for freedom who had been murdered in a Nazi concentration camp; secondly, to inform Traven of the Call which appeared in several copies of a monthly journal which was published in Berlin and which surely never reached him; thirdly, to show that Traven is not only a gifted writer of important social problems but that he was also a pioneer, ready to sacrifice with his life when called upon to fight for an idea...and that only accidentally did he escape from Munich in 1919.

Attentive readers of his later works will not wonder at their ability to identify the author because the remarks written about the panic which resulted from the last revolution impart a strong personal impression. Nevertheless, the question still persists as to who is Traven, for even this part of his life he lived under the pseudonym "Ret Marut". This raises another puzzling question: Who is *"Ret Marut" ?* Who is *"Richard Maurut"?*

For the subsequent data I owe a debt of gratitude to my friend Erich Meuhsam, whose biography (more correctly, a biographic sketch) I am writing now. I might insert that our identical conception about the world, our uninterrupted correspondence and personal acquaintanceship have provided the basis for this biographical sketch. In connection with Erich Meuhsam's lectures, which I arranged in Vienna in the year 1931, I naturally discussed with him about the accomplished author Traven, whose works I praised without reservation because the fundamental tendency professed in them is also ours.

One autumn day in 1917 Erich Meuhsam related to me – a very gifted young man appeared in Munich and began publishing an interesting magazine that appeared very irregularly. The young man used the name *Ret Marut* : his publication he called *"Ziegelbrenner" (* "The Brickburner"). No one knew his real name. Even his closest friends had no idea what his real name was. The *Ziegelbrenner* attacked very strongly the methods pursued by journalism; it also attacked the question of war, legal justice and governmental authority in general. He also helped to spread the seeds of the revolution which started in Munich on May 1, 1919, when the Soviet-Republic of Bavaria was founded. General Ep with his band of volunteers then marched into Munich and *Ret Marut,* one of the main leaders of the Soviet, was arrested and without much ceremony was slated to be shot.. On the way to the place of execution, he succeeded in escaping from the military escort and disappeared. A few numbers of the *Ziegelbrenner* continued to appear in 1920 and 1921 in Vienna, and later in several other European cities until it became defunct. After the Munich happenings, the magazine was delivered to its former subscribers only. (According to a notice on its title page, no new subscriptions were accepted). At the same time, the anonymous editor made this declaration:

"In several parts of Germany, there are certain people who claim to be publishers of "Ziegelbrenner" Whoever makes such a claim is an imposter because the real publisher entertains no motive to look for such rotten propaganda". This was very much regretted by Meuhsam who had the highest regard for the anti-authoritaian *Ziegelbrenner.* When Meuhsam, after being freed from a five-year term of imprisonment in the Bavarian fortress, published the monthly journal *Fanel* in the city of Berlin, he printed this announcement in the seventh issue of its first years appearance in April 1927:

Where is the Ziegelbrenner?

Do none of the readers of Fanel know the whereabouts of Ziegelbrenner? – Ret Marut, comrade, friend, co-revolutionist, brother, let us hear from you, show us that you are alive, that you are still the same "Ziegelbrenner", that your heart has not failed you, that your mind has not tempered, that your arm is not paralysed, that your hand has not stiffened. You eluded the Bavarians in 1919. If you had not succeeded, you would have long been placed where Landauer and others of our great thinkers are buried, where I too would be if they had not arrested me 14 days before and sent me away from the place of execution. Right now they can do nothing to you. The amnesty that was proclaimed will have to be applied also in your case. It calls upon you to write the origin of the Bavarian Commune. The published documents, until now, have been written from a partisan viewpoint. I, too, am, in some respects partial, too personally imbued with the aims, too deeply engrossed in the conflicting merits and demerits to be able to write with sufficient objectivity the history of the revolution.

You are the only one who took an active part in the happenings and, therefore, could observe from within, as well as from without, what ocurred that was repulsive and what was intended to be good; what was interpreted correctly and what could have been made better. The remaining works of Gustav Landauer, his letters, his speeches and all that he accomplished in his last days will soon be offered for open criticism. You were at his side as co-worker and follower when he was the People's Commissar of Propaganda. We are in need of you. Who knows the "Ziegelbrenner"? , Who of the readers of "Fanel" knows where we might locate **Ret Marut?**

Many inquire about him. Many are waiting for him. He must answer the call."

To our dismay, as Meuhsam related to me, the appeal remained unanswered, and Meuhsam lost all hope in ever hearing about *Ret Marut.* Then, one day, he came upon the first books of Traven. He began reading them. Somehow, the style of writing appeared very familiar to him. But he had to rack his brains to find somewhere a similarity to this writing. He then searched through the old issues of *Ziegelbrenner* and together with Rudolf Rocker, compared the style of writing. One day it dawned on him that the style resembled very closely that of *Ret Marut* . It was then that both Meuhsam and Rocker decided that *Ret Marut,* editor of *Ziegelbrenner,* was none other than **Bruno Traven.** This is how the story was related to me by Erich Meuhsam.

"When I was a boy in Germany

When I was in Germany, not long ago, I procured after a long search, several numbers of *"Ziegelbrenner".* I think Meuhsam's conclusion is positively correct, and I believe I can go a step further in the study of **B. Traven.** On the title page of the first number of *"Ziegelbrenner",* there is recommended a volume of novels "..to Fraulein from S..." by *Richard Maraut.* There is reason to believe that the mysterious "novel", as it is described in the announcement, is the first belletristic work by Traven. The fact that the publishing house is now extinct makes it impossible to obtain any kind of data. But in the very detailed work *"Deutsches Anonymes Lexicon"* there is no mention of the name **B. Traven.** We must, therefore, conclude that the name *Richard Maraut* is the real name of **Traven.** The fact that the contents of the book is in Traven's intellectual style strengthens the supposition. Here is what one critic had to say in the matter:

"...It is the tragic story of a man whose heart rending lonesomeness became his fate in the midst of thousands of jubilant comrades. It is one of the excellent tests by which we can observe the psychology of war-hero through the eyes of an artist. Any other writer would have created two thick novels from the immense material and still would have enough for a collection of novels. The book has no real beginning and leaves an enigmatic impression at the end; war scenes are sketched very plasticalll and in great number; yet the book has little connection with war. It is the suppressed outcry of a suffering dreamer who becomes a soldier only by accident".

No matter what the name may be, *Ret Marut* or *Richard Maraut,* it is the infallible anarchist idea that is expressed in the works. This fills us with enthusiasm. To have known the person who was that revolutionary writer is not of such great consequence; to read his works, to realise his thoughts is the most important thing.

This I shall endeavour to prove with a quotation from *"Ziegelbrenner"* (1921) which is characteristic of Traven's style of writing. Under the title **"The Opposite",** he says:

"Is knowledge power? No! Action is power!
"Does knowledge free us? No! We are freed by action!"

L. Kraft

(This article, translated by Sam Polinov from the Argentinian journal **Das Freie Wort,** *first appeared in* **Man!,** *the American anarchist monthly, August 1939).*

The following is a list of Bruno Traven's books available in English. We intend to review these titles in the next issue of **The Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature,** *in the meantime all are highly recommended:*

The Treasure of the Sierra Madre: *Panther, 1974, 40p*
The Death Ship: *Panther, 1974, 50p*
The Bridge in the Jungle, *Penguin, 1976, 50p*
March to Caobaland, *Penguin, 1976, 35p*
The Rebellion of the Hanged, *Penguin, 1976, 30p*
(Please add 12p to cover post + packing when ordering from Cienfuegos Mail Order Service)

Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution

The following article is the prologue to the revived and updated English translation of Frank Mintz's definitive work on collective self-management in Spain during the Civil War, 'L'autogestion dans l'Espagne Revolutionnaire'. We hope to be able to publish the full work sometime in 1977 – funds willing!

Prologue

Anarchism has been the main driving force of almost all social agitation in recent Spanish history. To such an extent is this so that all Spanish left-wing organisations and parties originate from it. Following the split within the Bakuninist Alliance in 1872 and the exit of the Marxists, Pablo Iglesias and his associates formed the Socialist Party and, after an unsuccessful initial attempt to build a trade union movement, the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.) With the Russian Revolution violent disagreements arose with Marxist elements which led to Nin and Maurin leaving the main anarcho-syndicalist union, the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.), to form the Spanish Communist Party. When these militants were later expelled from the Communist Party they formed various groups which eventually united to become the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (P.O.U.M).

This character demonstrates both the strength and weakness of anarchism. It is a mass syndicalist movement which is very powerful and, in many provinces, the majority union (later we shall undertake a geographic survey of its strength). It is, therefore, the target for criticism or flattery of those who do not belong to its ranks, or the careerism of some of its militants.

The importance, indeed the magnitude, of the Spanish anarchist movement inevitably provokes the question as to why it should develop to such an extent in Spain and not in other countries.

Briefly, let us give our point of view criticising the authoritarian interpretations of the strength of anarchism in Spain. Almost all these interpretations are based on the assumption that Spain is different, a "special case", etc., and as anarchism is an "extravagant" doctrine it is quite understandable that it should gain strength in Spain. But let us look at these arguments in more detail.

In 1856 Karl Marx wrote: "The middle-classes of Europe now realise that only two roads lie open to them. They must either submit themselves to a political power which they despise, renouncing the advantages of industry and modern commerce along with the social relations based on these, or they sacrifice the privileges which the modern organisation of the productive forces of society, in a primary stage, has granted to one class alone. It is as impressive as it is unexpected that this lesson should come to us from Spain." (La Revoluvion espanola, Moscow, n.d., p.150.)

Marx's satisfaction continued: "The next European revolution will find a mature Spain with which to collaborate. The years 1854 to 1856 were transitory stages which had to be traversed to attain this maturity." (op.cit. p.157).

Marx's vision, shared by Bakunin, of the penetration of the ideas of the First International into Spain was confirmed – as a result of a certain amount of liberalisation – in 1868. In fact Spain became the most powerful section of the International Working Men's Association (A.I.T.), with 40,000 members by June 1870, dropping to 25,000 in 1872 immediately following a period of illegality, and rising to 50,000 in 1873.

And so, the spectacular development of the Spanish labour movement, both industrial and agricultural workers alike, was almost entirely along anarchist lines. There was an attempt made by Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law, to build a Marxist organisation. Lafargue, a refugee from the Paris Commune who was exiled in Spain, was particularly well suited to this task as he was born in Cuba and spoke fluent Spanish. His involvement consisted of a particularly destructive attempt to undermine the International by publishing the names of the outstanding militants of that organisation under the pretext that they were Bakuninists. The information was for the benefit of the police. Despite this despicable trick the Bakuninist tendency of the Spanish section of the International maintained its unity and its strength soon reached 30,000 members, while in the same year the parallel organisation created by Lafargue collapsed owing to lack of support.

This disastrous first attempt to introduce Marxism into the Peninsula perhaps explains the tone of Frederick Engels's pamphlet of 1873, *The Bakuninists in Action*, a classic anti-anarchist text for Soviet, Chinese and Trotskyist Marxists of many differing hues and tendencies.

We should examine these texts in detail. They do, in fact, contain the basic elements of the Marxist analysis of the subject under discussion.

"Spain is an industrially backward country and therefore we cannot speak of an immediate and complete emancipation of the working class." The insurrection of the republican or bourgeois federalists against the bourgeois centralists "could only take place through the active *political* intervention of the Spanish working class."

This theoretical affirmation is in direct contradiction to the history of the Spanish labour movement until 1873: the burning of textile factories in 1835; the first general strike in Catalonia (and in the Peninsula) in 1855; the first great peasant insurrection and division of the land by more than 10,000 peasants in Loja, Granada, in 1863. At no time did they look for an alliance with the bourgeoisie and, until 1873, if Spanish statesmen demonstrated anything clearly it was precisely their inability to produce reforms.

"As for the ignominious insurrection, the only thing which interests us is the even more ignominious exploits of the anarchists." "With 5,000 men, (anarchism) struggled for 20 hours against 32 policemen and a handful of armed bourgeois. They were defeated when they ran out of ammunition and lost, in all, *ten men.* It is know that the 'Alliance' inculcates its initiates with that wise phrase of Falstaff's that "the better part of valour is discretion." "In one word, the Spanish Bakuninists have given us an insuperable example of how *not* to make a revolution."

James Guillaume answered Engels's attack: "The workers had only a thousand rifles, of amny different types and callibres, and they lacked ammunition. Their bourgeois opponents, on the other hand, were well armed and well entrenched in the Town Hall and surrounding houses, and supported by the Municipal police. Several houses had to be burned to get them out, and on top of that Engels makes fun of them." "Is it possible to read anything more foul than these cold sneers over dead workers? Engels is a rich manufacturer now retired from business; he is used to looking upon workers as factory and cannon fodder; this explains his doctrines and his style." (9/11/73 quoted by G. Ribeill in *Marx/Bakounine,* Paris, 10/18/75, pp. 365-6).

Apart from his obvious relish at the workers' defeat, Engels employs bluff as political analysis: in Valencia the "authentic Internationalists" (the Marxists) carried out a heroic struggle, but in fact they were just as much anarchists as those criticised earlier by Engels, and Guillaume describes their sections. In Cartagena, Engles continues, "the Government released 1800 prisoners from the city penitentiary, among whom were the worst thieves and murderers in all Spain. The evidence that this revolutionary measure was suggested by the Bakuninists cannot be doubted following the revelations of the report on the 'Alianza'." Such evidence is denied by the facts. There were no anarchists in Cartagena. Engles's great understanding of delinquency never ceases to surprise . . . . .

As for the opinion of the Spanish workers themselves, the federal commission reported: "Some of our Italian brothers believed that the Cantonalist movement, that is the uncompromising federal republicans, was an international movement, whereas in fact it was simply a political movement created by politicians, and with no previous contact with the Internationalists. Given the lack of generosity of the uncompromising federalists and their programme which was almost identical to that of the benevolent ones (their adversaries), it can only be deduced that they only take up arms to satisfy their personal ambitions, desires and designs." (*Libro Copiador de la Federacion Regional Espagnola,* No. 1040, pp.447-9. Quoted by Miklos Molnar in *Anarchici e Anarchia nel Mondo Contemporaneo,* Turin, 1971).

As for the bluff and amalgam tactics employed by Engels, James Guillaume concluded: "It is now obvious that Marx, Engels and their disciples do not form a socialist school with a more or less erroneous document. Purely and simply they are as much part of the *reaction* as Mazzini, Bismarck, Castelar and Thiers."

However, Engels continued his scientific and dialectical affirmations in 1878: "It can be predicted without fear of equivocation that when any political convulsion again offers the Spanish workers the prospect of playing an active part in the struggle then that struggle will not be initiated by these "anarchist" charlatans, but by the small organisation of conscious and energetic workers who remained faithful to the International in 1872." (*Acerca del Anarquismo el Anarcosindicalismo*, Moscow, 1973, p.150).

In fact, the anarchist union organisation was always the majority one: in 1900 it had 52,000 affiliates to the 15,2000 of the U.G.T. In 1911, when the C.N.T. was formed, numbers dropped to 30,000 against the U.G.T.'s 80,000, but by 1919 the C.N.T.'s numbers had risen to an enormous 755,000 while the U.G.T.'s membership had risen only to a mere 2000,000.

This tardiness in the growth of Spanish socialism is quite outstanding compared with other countries. As Fernando Romeu says in his book *Las Clases Trabajadores en Espana* (Madrid, 1970, p.39): "By the end of the century, when their colleagues throughout the Continent had acted as a 'tonic' to European politics, not one single Spanish socialist Deputy had been elected to Congress."

This tardiness also had its effect on the development both of the Communist Party dependent on Moscow and of the other, equally Marxist but opposed to Moscow. Their explanations and rationalisations for this failure to "flower", as it were, echoes that of Engels: the professed backwardness of Spain and the pending disappearance of anarchism: ". . . the economic and social-backwardness of Spain according to Dolores Ibarruvi (*A los Trabajadores Anarquistas*, Mexico, 1953, p.5); ". . . the slow industrial development of the country" (*Historia del Partido Comunista de Espana*, Paris, 1960, p.14); "It is a fact that anarchism has had no influence other than in slightly industrially developed countries" (Andres Nin, 1928, in *El Arraigo del Anarquismo en Cataluna,* Barcelona, 1973, p.115); "There is nothing strange in this history in this country where a close bond exists between the industrial worker and the landless peasant" (Broue, *La Revolution et la Guerre d'Espagne,* p.41); "And anarchism wich has given all it can give and which has shown its fundamental inability to take upon itself the role of vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat, will disappear from one of the last strongholds remaining to it." (Andres Nin, op.cit., p.120).

As far as the official or bourgeois histroians are concerned it is perfectly logical that as authoritarians their perspective should be that of the Marxists. Brenan affirms that anarchism is millenarianism – a longing for a return to medieval egalitarianism – and this belief is echoed conscientiously (although without crediting the source) by Hugh Thomas, James Joll and Eric Hobsbawm. Similarly, in Spain, Nazario Gonzalez follows the same line of thought and seeks to widen the basis of this interpretation. Franz Borkenau and Pierre Villar, although apparently much more sensible, also repeat this cliche, which is anchored firmly in the past. Even theoretical libertarians such as Anton Pannekoek and Castoriadis (Cardan to English readers) either muzzle the role played by Spanish anarchism or judge it within a Leninist concept.

Even the ideas of the anarchists themselves as to the reason for their success is to be criticised. Included in Renee Lamberet's detailed analysis which underlines the natural geographic divisions favourable to federalist ideas, the enormous weight of iniquitous exploitation in industry and agriculture, and the seriousminded nature of the Spanish worker, nonsensical explanations are to be found such as "the temperamental anarchism of Spaniards" (Jose Peirats, *La CNT en la Revolucion Espanola,* vol. 1, Buenos Aires, 1953), not to mention the almost mystical article which speaks of the immortal CNT – a Phoenix rising out of the ashes.

Gerald Brenan had a certain amount of success in outlining and separating anarchists and socialists on a geographical basis, and it seems that class divisions also intrigued certain studious writers, "but, in Valencia and Castellon, the prosperous peasants belonged either to the Catholic right or to the Republican Party, and those of fertile Granada belonged to socialism" (F. Romeu, *op.cit.* p.40). In Madrid the typographers were socialists while in Barcelona their counterparts were anarchists, the Asturian miners were socialists with a strong anarchist minority while the Catalan miners were all anarchists, the Barcelona andGijon dockers were anarchists and in Seville they were communists (according to Romero Maura, *The Spanish Case, Government and Opposition,* London, 1970), and the list could be continued with the poor anarchist peasants in Aragon, autonomous republicans in Catalonia, socialists in Castille, and socialists and anarchists in the Levante.

For us, quite simply, the reason why anarchism took root in Spain so early on was due to the fact that it was a tactic which responded to the needs of the workers. It was also the first movement to appear in Spain, therefore the other movements had no possibility of development and growth.

Two Marxist writers hold similar views: ". . . another important reason the robustness and growth of anarchist influence in Spain was the very nature of its organised activity. Anarchist agitations were fundamentally flexible and were related to the traditional national forms of organisation and struggle, adapted to the level of consciousness of the revolutionaries and even of the immature masses." "In this way, in Spain, anarchism was not limited to utopian propaganda and terrorist actions. The actions of the masses were concerted and this in turn obtained some practical successes. The tradition of an anarchist movement became a serious material force following a period of half-secular development, the cause of the later strengthening and consolidation of its influence." (Kiva Levovitch Maidanik, *Ispanski Proletariat v Natsionalnorevoliutsionoi Voine* 1936-1937, Moscow, 1960, pp.34/5).

"(1) The Spanish anarchists understood the peasant problem long before the socialists, and at a very early period they established themselves in Andalucia, always the heart of the Spanish agrarian problem . . . (3) The anarchists were formidable and tireless propagandists . . . (6) The anarchists grasped the importance of educating youth to become tomorrow's fighters, and created the rationalist schools . . . (8) The anarchists were continuously persecuted. Hence they acquired the art of operating in the shadows and in clandestinity whereas the socialists took care not to infringe established law . . . (12) The anarcho-syndicalists understood the convenience of changing trade and craft societies into industrial unions. The formation of the 'One Big Union' was revolutionary and it was for this reason that anarcho-syndicalism received such an impulse and the majority of the Spanish working class gravitated to the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.). (13) Last but not least, the anarchists have shown proof of an imagination which the socialsits lacked." (Maurin, *Revolucion y Contra-Revolucion,* Paris, epilogue to 1966 edition.)

Both these explanations from two opponents of anarchism clearly explain the reason for anarchist supremacy in Spain.. If the same process did not occur in other countries then it is because it did not have the time or it did not arrive in time to establish itself.

To return to our theme once again, we believe that the problems of collective ownership – just as much as those relating to the form of the collectivism will take, the theories of federalism, and real and permanent control of government by the citizen – are now closer to being resolved than ever before. It seems to us that there is a twofold psychological movement towards this tendency.

In the highly developed countries political and economic centralism brings with it a basic strategic weakness in power (easy military destruction of the nerve centres), an irrational concentration of industry (regional imbalances), the depoliticisation of the man in the street who does not understand the complexity of the administration. For this reason there is a growing tendency for certain professional social groups such as economists, politicians, clerics, etc., to attempt to integrate and create a sense of responsibility in the citizen by adapting ideas such as workers' participation in the running of factories and economic devolution and so on. Thus, after the events of May/June 1968, the French Government took various steps to promote participation and regionalisation which, in effect, were a confession of the multifold inadequacy of centralisation.

In the so-called under-developed countries completely different reasons lead to similar conclusions. In those countries social concepts tend to place more importance on the role of the individual, and villages and other population units tend to be much more autonomous. Also, quite often the masses intervene directly in politics as in the liberation wars, and statesmen give them a certain amount of real importance.

On the other hand, there are some experiences of collective ownership which exert a great deal of attraction for certain countries, but many difficulties surround the thorough study of these experiences; lack of knowledge of the language (Jugoslav, Russian, Chinese), and the impossibility of collecting sufficient figures, data and personal statistics (Russia, China and Jugoslavia, although Mexico and Israel do provide more facilities).

Curiously though, in spite of the at times intense propaganda, it seems that the knowledge and learned studies we are offered are totally lacking in any scientific basis. We have no pretentions that this study has a more solid base or is in any way more serious than the others. But it is strange to note the silence surrounding the Spanish experiences and the historical limbo to which they have been ushered, because in our opinion the Spansih experiences are in many aspects superior to the others. This silence on the part of left and right wing authoritarians is quite understandable, as Noam Chomsky underlines: "This predominantly anarchist revolution and the massive social transformation to which it gave rise are treated, in recent historical studies, as a kind of an aberration, a nuisance that stood in the way of successful prosecution of that war to save the bourgeois regime from the Franco rebellion." (*American Power and the New Mandarins*, London 1969, p.65).

The scheme of the following work rests on three basic questions: why self-management, how it functions, and what are its original attributes.

Until now almost all the data and documentation on this subject have consisted of a collection of testimonies of varying importance and without any attempt at synthesis. For this reason we think that through the search for new material and careful statistical study we can acquire the panorama we lack at the moment. In later works we can select and study in detail the most outstanding and valiant cases, but at the moment we must treat the movement as a whole.

As far as the method of investigation itself is concerned we are followers of scholarship because it is the only means and remedy by which we may avoid dogmatism and arrogant synthesis. It is unlikely that we shall produce an objective study, but it will certainly be a serious one.

SPAIN

Frank Mintz

THE ANARCHIST COLLECTIVES: Workers' self-management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-39, Sam Dolgoff, introductory essay by Murray Bookchin, illustr., 195pp., £2.35 p/b.

This book is nothing less than the best anthology of testimonies and documents on Spanish self-management. Dolgoff has been able to present us with such a book only after close study and careful selection of Spanish, Italian, French and German texts on the subject. The order in which the chapters are presented gives the reader a profound, varied and critical vision of the anarchist collectives during the Spanish Revolution. The conclusion, which is sober and precise manages to capture the real meaning of this experience.

It is unfortunate, however, that Dolgoff is so modest in his conclusions. Within Spanish anarchism there are two complementary aspects: the characteristic motivation peculiar to anarchists and, at the same time, the mentality and aspirations of those who work on the land – to live better and at the same time to modify or break the mould in which they are cast. It is this fact which Dolgoff should have underlined, because it is latent in every deep-rooted labour movement. The Italian workers occupying the factories in 1920, forming rank-and-file groups in opposition to the established trade unions. The Polish and Hungarian workers in 1953 demanding, among other things, the right to free workers organisations. Those same demands were echoed in Poland in 1970-71, and again, according to the texts of leaflets circulated at the time, in China during the "Cultural Revolution" (Rev. Cult. dans la Chine Pop.).

The introductory essay by Bookchin gives us a very personal and anarchist insight into the Spanish movement from its origins. He concludes:

"Indeed, in many collectivised areas, the efficiency with which an enterprise worked far exceeded that of a comparable one in nationalised or private sectors. This 'green shoot' of revolutionary reality has more meaning for us than the most persuasive theoretical arguments to the contrary. On this score it is not the anarchists who are "unrealistic day-dreamers" but their opponents who have turned their backs to the facts or have shamelessly concealed them."

Perhaps, also, he could have drawn a brief parallel with the ideas of Lewis Mumford in "Technique and Civilisation", written in 1924, the years in which the Spanish workers had concluded unequivocably that only revolutionary violence would overcome capitalism. Since then the brilliant ideas for reform have either remained locked up in their files and drawers or, when the capitalists of East and West have dared to adapt them – such as in abolition of the Volvo assembly line –it has only been to increase its domination over the working-class, giving the workers the

'right' to watch over each other in work and to ensure that no-one shirks in their duty towards their employer.

A book reflecting an experience with great relevance to today's problems.

Frank Mintz

COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, Gaston Leval, Freedom Press, London, 368pp., p/b £2.00, h/b £4.00.

Gaston Leval is a French anarchist who fled to Spain in the First World War to avoid military service, became involved in revolutionary politics, and was a member of the Spanish delegation to the 1921 Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions in Moscow. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in the twenties he left for Argentina, returning to Spain after the revolution of 1936. Ultimately he was re-admitted to France, and now in his eighties, lives in Paris where he produces a journal called *Cahiers de l'Humanisme Libertaire*. He is thus and archetypal 'child of our time' of the first half of this century (there are plenty in the second half too), the political wanderer whose life and lifestyle have been determined by one act which severed his connection with home, family and familiar ways. This is specifically a twentieth century phenomenon, for apart from the Catholic church or the Tsarist regime, few in the past had the manpower to keep a check of and catch up with their dissidents. The personal history of people like Victor Serge or of anarchists like Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman illustrate this enforced vocation of exile.

For Leval, the years in Spain provided an opportunity to come to terms with that intangible thing, the Spanish character. It is evident that he learned to admire the dignity and austerity as well as the humanity and capacity for mutual aid that we associate with the Spaniards, and to take note of the regional variations of those characteristics. It may be anachronistic to raise these matters, thinking of the Spain of the mid-seventies, but in Leval's assessment of the success of the Spanish collectives of 1936-37 they are important. Similarly in a historically decentralised country like Spain where there has always been tension between autocracy based on Madrid and autonomy based on regional, municipal and communal independence, it is important to take this history into account in discussing the success of collectivisation. Leval had the opportunity in the early years of his exile, to discover the historical validity and the then current viability of these traditions. In his testimony from revolutionary Spain he has consequently had the advantage of a profound appreciation of the traditional modes of thinking of Spanish workers and peasants as well as of the way in which the Spanish revolution was made. It is consequently all the more interesting that he records instances where the very old communal or municipal traditions did not apply but where nevertheless, the collectivisation of the means of livelihood was successfully achieved.

The book presents the distilled essence of the author's axperience of the Spanish revolution, recollected in tranquility and with the advantage of familiarity with the subsequent literature including the voluminous historical material on the period which in the last decade has been published in Spain itself. He is a good witness: he tells us what he learned for himself on the spot, what he was told about at the time, and what he has subsequently gleaned for himself. Consequently apart from its value as firsthand testimony, his book invites our speculation about his interpretation. Why is he so keen on giving us the text of constitutions, rule books and so on? Why is he so interested in the details of book-keeping and accountancy, and why do the minutiae of organisation interest him so? Is it just because he is an organisation man, or because experience tells him that if you don't get the details right you lay the enterprise wide open to failure? Or simply because he glories in the fact that'simple' peasants and workers can work things out for themselves and that management of an efficient and productive enterprise is not a mystery for accountants and lawyers.

It is doubtful whether Leval considers his work finished, but he has produced some essential pages which are one of the indispensable sources for any conclusions about the constructive achievements of the Spanish revolution. His translator (V. Richards) has performed a labour of love on these 368 pages of history (which at present publishing costs a bargain for the purchaser).... His book is full of provocative challenge to contemporary anarchist thinking, it is rich in detail of the achievements he witnessed, and warm in his affection and respect for the people who accomplished so much in so short a time.

Colin Ward

(The above review is a much abridged and condensed extract of the original review which appeared in 'Freedom' 5/7/75)

SABATE: GUERRILLA EXTRAORDINARY, Antonio Tellez, Cienfuegos Press, London, 192pp., Photos., cover illust. by Flavio Costantini, Introductory essay by Octavio Alberola, £2.35, h/b £3.50 (Davis-Poynter).

Reading this book is likely to be a disconcerting experience for those who are used to revolutionary publications. Antonio Tellez, offering neither an abstract ideological discussion of anarchism and Marxism nor infantile pontifications about the Spanish national character (like Gerald Brennan and Hugh Thomas), nor yet a complicated exposition of Spanish social history, achieves instead a perfect depiction of the very special and highly complex atmosphere of Spanish anarchism in exile and of its ambiguous relationship with the underground militants in the interior of Francoist Spain.

The text of the book has been well translated, and the English edition also takes into account the author's research since the appearance of the Spanish and Italian editions.

A striking feature of the book, which applies to the best biographies, is that its subject is not whitewashed: there is no room in it for a sharp division between good characters and the bad. Sabate (whose name is spelt thus in Catalan, though it is more often written 'Sabater', according to Castilian usage) is shown with all his passion, his courage as a militant, with his dramatic motto *I am el Quico* which became a symbol of anti-Francoism and won respect even when he was being hunted down like a wild animal. Yet this same courage was to be transformed into blind obstinacy which ignored all difficulties, and was indeed to bring about his death.

Beside the nature of the man, beside his comrades who were as brave as him and who faced death with him, the polemics which surrounded Sabate seem idle and artificial – the discussions of the Spanish anarchist movement in exile about the necessity of mass action rather than personal action seem premature and extravagant. How many missed opportunities of revolutionary activity, how many gifts to Francoism and to the Communist Party were offered by the divisions in Spanish anarchism, torn as it was between a belief in the magic assistance of the democracies (suggested by the non-political wing) and a belief in the sudden collapse of Francoist power (suggested by the political wing)? The two tendencies in the event gave virtually no assistance, considering the resources at their disposal, to the real resistance in Spain.

So this is an important book, despite its brevity. It is impressive for its feelings of suspense (many novelists might envy the passages describing Sabate's escape from Spain and subsequent death) and for its disturbing atmosphere – conveyed by such chapter headings as *Hope, Confusion, Action, Problems, Terror, Extermination, Complications, Despair,* and *Death.* It is left to the reader, however, to make his or her own use of the material offered to illuminate the forces at play and the errors of the various organisations and groups.

Clearly for Stuart Christie, who has translated the book, and for Octavio Alberola, who has written a preface for the Cienfuegos edition, Sabate in particular and guerrilla warfare in general are the driving forces of the revolutionary movement. For us it is a matter above all of understanding that a revolutionary can continue to live as a revolutionary even in the worst conditions, as Tellez emphasises.

But is that enough to offer a revolutionary example which will appeal to the workers? What becomes of such activity in the seemingly Western countries with their high standard of living? The lesson of this book is that the continuity of violence which is legalised and which is virtually internalised by education, exploitation, consumption, brings us nearer – nearer than we think – to Sabate.

LA CNT EN LA REVOLUCION ESPANOLA, Jose Peirats, Ruedo Iberico, lll vols., p/b £11.00 the set.

This work analyses the actions of the anarcho-syndicalist trade union during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-'39 and gives a complete picture of the situation from an anarchist point of view. From an anarchist point of view? The reader will think that this is yet another book of propaganda and that between the Francoist version, the Communist Party version and a third anarchist version, not even God would know where to begin.

In fact an anarchist point of view means an analysis of the situation, a serious and critical analysis, accentuating the deviations of the anarchists themselves when necessary (and it was necessary during the Spanish Revolution), without leaving out of consideration the interventions of other Spanish parties and organisations.

One example: the military uprising in Madrid and Barcelona: "The labour carried out by the Party over a period of many years among the military contributed greatly towards the realisation of the cited actions in defence of the Republic in those crucial moments." "As in Madrid, the working class and the popular force of Barcelona rose heroically against the military and the fascists (...) the four workers parties formed the Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalunya a few days later." *(Historia del Partido Comunista de Espana,* Paris 1960, p. 125/126).

"Those of the CNT in the lead, despising death, together with some guardias de asalto and young socialists, advanced like a jet demolishing all before them." "The anarchist groups together with assault guards and so members of the Guardia Civil, completely encircled the rebellious centres in the Plaza de Catalunya." "The confederal proletariat from Barceloneta (a working class area of Barcelona), united with the contingents of public order, completely spoiled all hopes of reinforcement by regiments of cavalry and artillery." *(Peirats,* Vol 1, p. 144).

And so Peirats, the anarchist historian, goes straight to the point and it does not hurt him to point out the others who participated in that victory, by the example we have chosen here. Peirats covers the entire perio of the war and the most famous events of that war: workers' control, May 1937 in Barcelona, the military ev ution, the criticisms which developed within the CNT itself and the tragic and lamentable end of the war.

This book is the *source* for all those interested in everything concerning Spanish anarchism and the problen it faced during the Civil War. It explains why the revolutionary struggle persists in Spain to this day and wh the labour struggles within the present economic structure can lead to important changes.

Frank Mintz

SPANISH ANARCHISM & INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ACTION (1961-1975),
Octavio Alberola & Ariane Gransac, Sp. ed. 380pp, £4.00; Fr. ed. (slightly abridged) £1.25.
(English translation in progress)

Without doubt the author of this book, Octavio Alberola, is better known than the material about which he writes - most of it written in the Paris prison of Fresnes - in collaboration with his companion Ariane Gransac.

From 1961 onwards the Francoist police have considered Alberola as their "Public Enemy No.1". He is a militant anarchist and this book is a reflection of his experiences within (and great knowledge of) the classic organisations of Spanish Anarchism.

This book is a carefully detailed history of the CNT from 1939 to the present day and contains a rigorous analysis of the causes of degeneration of that once powerful and prestigious organisation which, even in the 1940's , counted on tens of thousands of militants, and examins the forms in which that degeneration was allowed to take place. Secondly, this book by Alberola and Gransac stands as a testimony to the struggles undertaken by young Spanish anarchists in order to reverse this degenerative process, and the obstacle they overcame in order to do so.

Jose M.

MAN! An anthology of Anarchist Ideas, Essays, Poetry and Commentaries. Edited by Marcus Graham, Cienfuegos Press, 1974, 670 pp. £3.25 paperback, £7.00 cloth ($8.00 & $ 17.00).

Radical polemics are written for the occasion; they are not supposed to hold up. But the hundreds of pas ionate and critical pieces in this anthology – all of them from the American anarchist journal *MAN!*, which was published from 1933 until its suppression in 1940 – retain a vitality and conviction that make them stimulating to the activist, as well as valuable to the historian.

Anarchists are, by definition, outsiders. Convinced that the state is the enemy and that political particip- ation is a dangerous alienation of personal autonomy, the anarchists were able to see (and see through) the events of the New Deal with an acumen untainted by political maneuvering. Franklin D. Roosevelt comes in for serious dissection but a wide spectrum of other political factions is scrutinised as well: capitalists and fascists, socialists and communists, at home and abroad. The subjects of this book are a catalogue of the horror stories of the 1930's: purges in Russia, lynchings in the South, abuses in the Spanish Civil War, supp- ressions of radical labour unions, the triumph of Nazism. All are analysed from the anarchist point of view, which results in a collection that is eccentric and militant, but remarkably fresh and accurate.

Much of the writing in *MAN!* will interest labour historians and scholars of radical history. The anarchist condemnation of the Marxists mocks dissension and factionalism in the socialist ranks and shows the blindne of Western fellow-traveller's fidelity to Stalinist myths. Some of the polemics will strike the reader as quaint the advocacy of a general strike as a preliminary to a new American revolution, for example. But much of the anti-statist criticism is sensible and direct. Coverage of a prison riot at San Quentin in 1935 shows how little penal conditions have changed in forty years for inmates and guards alike.

A number of tiny items re-ignite memories long faded. The sentencing of Giuseppe Zangara, who shot and killed Mayor Cermak of Chicago in an ill-fated attempt to murder President Roosevelt in 1933, leads a contrib utor to claim "Society kills because it knows no justification can be offered for the crimes G. Zangara so tragically denounced." Or, to cite a less sanguine example, *MAN!* reminds us how, during the 1939 World's Fair, a "Freedom Pavilion" depicting the two faces of Germany – its glorious past and its enslaved present – was scheduled to be built. But, as the anarchists were quick to point out, the so-called "respectable" leader- ship of the project, headed by Herbert Bayard Swope, when criticised by the rector of St. Patrick's cathedral in New York, called off the building in order not to "provoke trouble".

Only one difficulty arises in reading these – and most – anarchist writings: the rhetoric becomes embarrass- ingly flamboyant. In a 1935 comment upon the dismissal of radical undergraduates from New York and Cal- ifornia colleges, *MAN!* decries the actions of "the watch dogs of Mammon, the professional lackeys", i.e, the college administrations who have rid their institutions of undesirable elements. But if one can get past the strident posturing, many serious criticisms of the Depression *status quo* can be discovered.

The first two hundred pages of this anthology, entitled "Ideas of Anarchism," is a treasure trove of original statements about the meaning and content of anarchism. 19th century philosophers, such as Josiah Warren, Kropotkin, and Max Stirner are juxtaposed with 20th century activists like Voltairine deCleyre, William C. Owen, and Volin, the Russian rebel. Though *MAN!* was clearly an organ of the communist anarchists, there was room for expression by individualistic anarchists and a certain sympathy for what might be termed "fellow propagandists." Clarence Darrow, certainly no anarchist but a frequent defender of the civil liberties of all kinds of radicals, was eulogised in 1938 as a " great and uncompromising figure in the cause of justice and freedom."

There is a great deal to read in this big, compact and pertinent volume. It reminds us that anarchists, in the worst and the best of times, have a critical distance that grants their resistance to the orthodoxies of the day a purity that is unsurpassed.

Reviewed by Terry M. Perlin

Terry M. Perlin is Assistant Professor of the Department of History at Williams College, Massachusetts, USA

Flavio Costantini:
THE ART OF ANARCHY, 43 illustrats., 52pp., 25x25 cms, h/b., £3.00 (Cienfuegos)
RAVACHOL & Cia., vita morte ed esplosioni nella belle epoque, 13 illustrs (full colour), 28pp., 27x39 cms., h/b., £4.00 (Italian text)
(Quadragono Libri)

Flavio Costantini's illustrations of anarchism in action – direct action – are of quite exceptional interest, over and above their documentary value. The power of Costantini's meticulously delineated *tableaux* to jolt us into instant awareness resides in their *purity* : they avoid entirely the sentimental bombast and stylistic conformism that vitiates the work of most would-be revolutionary artists of modern times.

Here, these anarchists meting out *class justice,* these expiring political and dynastic tyrants, these posturing policemen and soldiers, are caught, emotionless, in an inexorable moment of time: the moment of truth. No glorification or embellishment. But a sureness and subtlety of interpretation that is continually astonishing, an artistry that fixes its images firmly in our memory: at random – the fine unity of composition underlying the drawing of Ravachol with his companion Madeleine, momentarily relaxed in their rented room; the complex yet absolutely convincing perspective of the scene depicting Ravachol's excavation (fruitless, alas!) of the Baroness Rochetaille's tomb; the strong sensitive portraits of Sacco and Vanzetti.... Documentary evidence at the level of true art.

Simon Watson Taylor

When I first saw the work of Flavio Costantini, used to illustrate Roderick Kedward's THE ANARCHISTS, I was unsure whether I was looking at the work of some quite exceptional forgotten painter of the 1890's or of a modern artist who had steeped himself so deeply in anarchist traditions that the past came to life on his work with alarming intensity. A few stylistic idiosyncracies suggested the latter, but it was only when I recognized the man holding a revolver at the head of Ravachol that I was certain. The bowler hatted figure with the truncated legs was certainly Henri de Toulouse Lautrec, and that was a sardonic jest which an artist of the 1890's would hardly have perpetrated, if only because Toulouse-Lautrec was then too little known for the jest to have much significance.

There were many levels of thought that Costantini's paintings, reproduced in a rather deadening black-and-white in the present volume, set moving in my mind. I reflected on the lack of any tradition of anarchist art in Britain. Costantini's only significant predecessor during recent decades was John Olday, and Olday followed in the line of German Expressionism. Costantini himself sets many echoes ringing, most of them French, without being any less of an individual artist for that fact. His relationship to Stenlein, Caran d'Ache and the Frenc anarchist cartoonists of the 1880's and 1890's in general (his favourite period) is evident; so is the Art Nouveau preoccupation with print and lettering, and the Neo-Impressionist cultivation of the dark, strong outline in which, by a further irony, one detects a preoccupation with Toulouse-Lautrec as an artist and especially as a druaghtsman.

But there is nothing of Art Nouveau softness, its melting curves, or of Toulouse-Lautrec's sometimes deliquescent forms, about Costantini's work. Everything is tensely, melodramatically composed. The buildings are as solid, static, overbearing, as those in a Piero painting, suggesting the rigid inhumanity of the institutions they symbolize. The perspectives are the tilting ones of the early Italian painters, bringing everything in the scene on a level with the eyes, without the recession of distance, and so creating the same ominous drama as one feels emanating from the martyrdoms portrayed by painters of the *trecento.*

...There are depths within depths of understanding to **The Art of Anarchy**, for no true art is simple, nor, for that matter, is true anarchy, which can only realise itself by revealing every ambiguous profundity of the human condition.

George Woodcock

BAKUNIN

MICHAEL BAKUNIN: Selected writings, edited and introduced by Arthur Lehning, Cape, £2.25.

Bakunin's reputation has suffered by being inevitably compared with Marx, since he was both his contemporary and his critic. Since the material success of State Socialism, Marx has been canonised and even deified (and in consequence Bakunin portrayed as the arch-Devil); but with the bankruptcy – so far as human well-being is concerned – of the same State Socialism, Bakunin has on occasion been pressed into service as an antiMarx. This he was not. Bakunin recognised clearly the *capable hands* of Marx in the idea of communism and saw in him the *undisputed leader of the German socialist party* of the time (it was too early to see him the deified Marx of today, anyway). *Das Kapital*, said Bakunin, *is not a fantasy or an a priori concept hatched in a single day out of the mind of a young man more or less ignorant of the economic conditions of society or the prevailing system of production.* It was based *on a very detailed and extensive knowledge and analysis in depth of that system and its conditions.*

Nowadays, of course, folk will *hatch in a single day* any number of fantasies or a priori concepts on their interpretations of Das Kapital in the role of the Holy Bible or its opposite, but they will rarely have read it, for as Bakunin pointed out, and few today have the courage to admit,it is *bristling with metaphysical formulae and subtleties which make it inaccesible to the vast majority of readers.* Yet, said Bakunin, he would not insult Marx *by thinking that he imagines himself to have scientifically invented something approach ing absolute truth.* This was left to Marx's followers, especially the ones who found him *inaccesible.*

Bakunin rejected the idea of infallible concepts for the International *and consequently no official political or economic theory, and our congresses should never aspire to the role of ecumenical councils proclaiming compulsory principles for all adherents and believers.* Today, those congresses have been transformed by the Leninists – who recognising that there is no God but Marx and Lenin is his prophet – – who have distorted the words of Marx beyond recognition, and adhered to nothing so slavishly than to proclaim compulsory principles for all adherents – indeed for all, whether they believe it or not – and the doctrine has the force of State power i a large part of the world (to any extent which any Pope - to whom Bakunin compared Marx – only dreamed of).

In his own right Bakunin is well worth reading for the amazingly topical references. In this edition, Arthur Lehning may be somewhat criticised for injudicious selection (there is no point in inserting, for instance, a letter to Bakunin's sisters, when he was 22, unpoliticised, and still apparently believing in Jesus), when the whole point of the edition is to present Bakunin's anarchist writings as part and parcel of the writings of the socialist movement. But in his exposition of atheism, in his biting criticism of the State, Bakunin remains unsurpassed, and the mis-leading letter must be ignored.

Lehning does, though, contribute a crystal clear introduction to Bakunin, the most important fact in which is his pointing out that for the Russian pioneer of anarchism, *freedom...is not an abstract or metaphysical matter*, that for him freedom is something positive and not (and this is what marks the break with the liberal concept of freedom) purely negative. The liberal whose conception is that of freedom, as much as possible, *within* the State, has a purely abstract view of freedom – it is freedom from this or that, it is the absence of oppressive forces or at least their limitation. But for the anarchist, freedom *is not the negation of solidarity; it represents on the contrary, the development, and so to speak, the humanisation of the latter*, and social solidarity and freedom are inseparable concepts. Here,too, marks the distinction between bourgeois individualism and the revolutionary concept of individuality expressed in free communism.

At times Bakunin's writings are hard going – at other times, if one dips freely and takes passages at a time, they are lucid and contemporary. Unlike later anarchist philosophers, such as Kropotkin, he did not write directly for the workers; he wrote long voluminous letters to those who were addressing the workers directly, and during his lifetime his correspondence was used by Internationalists in Spain, Italy, France, Switzerland and Belgium (in particular) as the source book from which they learned to express an anarchist viewpoint. For a long time his writings were unavailable in English and Bakunin was known only as the man of action. Today his federalist views are more widely respected – though as little practised. His anarchism is more relevant than ever.

Internationalist

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

BAKUNIN ON ANARCHY, edited, with an introduction and commentary, by Sam Dolgoff, preface by Paul Avrich, Allen & Unwin, 417pp., h/b £5.50.

(Contains: Preface by Paul Avrich, Introduction by Sam Dolgoff, Michael Bakunin: A Biographical Sketch by James Guillaume, On Building the New Social Order, by James Guillaume, Writings by Bakunin include: Appeal to the Slavs, Confession to Tsar Nicholas I, Revolutionary Catechism, Federalism, Socialism, Anti-Theologism, The Policy of the International, Letters to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis, General Problems of the Social Revolution, God and the State, Authority and Science, Union Bureaucracy, The Paris Commune and the idea of the State, The International and Karl Marx, Statism and Anarchy).

Sam Dolgoff, the editor and translator of this volume, brings together (for the first time in many cases) a wide and varied selection of writings by the father of revolutionary anarchism. The articles, opening with a biographical sketch by James Guillaume, are presented in chronological order tracing the development of Bakunin's ideas from revolutionary pan-Slavism in 1846 through to revolutionary anarchism in 1864 and the subsequent years until his death in 1876.

This comprehensive collection of essays, culled and newly translated from Bakunin's writings, published and unpublished, has a freshness of style unusual in works of this genere. As Paul Avrich says in his preface to the book "it amply reveals the wide range and continued vitality of Bakunin's thought. As Max Nettlau, the foremost historian of anarchism, noted thirty years ago, Bakunin's ' "ideas remain fresh and will live forever" '.

B.F.

BAKUNIN & NECHAEV, Paul Avrich, Freedom Press. 20p.
POWER & LIBERTY, Leo Tolstoy, Simian (3rd ed.), 15p

Some recent works have shed further light on the personality of Nechaev. It is unfortunate that nobody who had the patience to research obscure facts of a century ago is likely to appreciate a dynamic, forceful impatient revolutionary such as Nechaev undoubtedly was, and he always comes off badly. Yet...as Avrich concedes, his methods are used by such contemporary groups as "the Black Panthers", the Black September, the Weather-people, the Red Army Fraction, the Symbionese Liberation Army," – he does not go on to mention any specifically anarchist groups, because basically his thesis is that Nechaev could not be an anarchist as he was not a very nice man. "Bakunin, whatever his failings, was essentially a libertarian. Nechaev, whatever his virtues, was essentially an authoritarian." How? Because Nechaev went in for "theft, blackmail, murder" his "selfless dedication carried a harsh and ruthless stamp" – he lacked Bakunin's "warmth and human compassion".

It clearly cannot be denied that since we are libertarians, libertarians have all the graces! That lets Nechaev out!

In fact Nechaev's Revolutionary Chatecism has stood the test of time: he concerned himself only with Russia and in Russia, one hundred years and two revolutions afterwards there is no other way but by that catechism to the letter for the revolutionary to proceed there. There was not then. There is not now. If there were, Paul Avrich would be the first to show where warmth and compassion succeeded and conspiracy was no longer necessary.

Do these conditions apply elsewhere? That is quite another point, which does not concern Nechaev, but did concern Bakunin. He realised (and this is what baffled Franco Venturi who called his relationship with Nechaev "complex and obscure" when it was as clear as daylight) elsewhere there was the luxury of choice as to whether one could be ruthless and dedicated or friendly, easy-going, warm and compassionate. But it led inevitably to a type of revolutionary flabbiness. One was better but the softer option and – certainly as far as any ruthless regime was concerned – got nowhere. The problem has not been resolved but intensified. Avrich thinks; that Nechaev's ruthlessness "on however small a scale" led to the "mass-murders of Stalin in the name of revolutionary necessity": this is a tall assumption (that is why he qualifies it with "small a scale"). The mass-murders of Stalin flow in unbroken sequence not from "revolutionary necessity" but from Tsardom.

But how curious to believe that Nechaev's iron self-discipline – which sacrificed those nearest him and he himself too – could lead in some way long after his death to the mass murders of Stalin – or even that Stalin's own ruthlessness (to sacrifice everyone else but himself) could do so! "This does not square with your research, Tolstoy would have reproved Avrich. "I understand if you believed in divine intervention that you might think God punished the sin with the terrible consequence. But come, we know this is nonsense – therefore from whence Stalin's mass-murders really stem?

Not from a mistakenly interpreted view of Nechaev, not from the will of Stalin – but from a process in history. The Tsar would also have kept himself in power with such methods if he could have done so. He gave the orders. But in the end they were not obeyed. Why were Stalin's orders obeyed? The viciousness lay not in the personal attributes of Stalin but in the will of the people which was towards submissiveness. Not that he was a wolf but that they were sheep.

This is what Tolstoy is saying in the snippet from his work "Power and Liberty". That he has been as misunderstood as Nechaev is self-evident.

Internationalist

ANARCHIST TITLES AVAILABLE FROM SIMIAN INCLUDE:

A CRITICISM OF STATE SOCIALISM, Bakunin, 15p
POWER AND LIBERTY, Tolstoy, 15p
WHAT IS THE CNT?, Peirats, 15p
ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA, Internationalist (A.Meltzer), 15p
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT, Icarus (Ernst Schneider), 45p
PETER KROPOTKIN: HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS, Berneri (C.) 30p
GOD AND THE STATE, Bakunin, 35p

SIMIAN PUBLICATIONS
Box AA, 1 Exchange Honley Huddersfield HD7 2AY

BAKUNIN: The Father of Anarchism, Anthony Masters, Sidgewick & Jackson, 279pp., h/b £5.95

Knowing how difficult it is to discover what my contemporaries are up to most of the time I must admit to admiring the researchers who state authoritatively what someone a hundred years ago was up to in bed, or even in their subconscious.

That aside, Bakunin is an ideal subject for a 'pop' biography, and Anthony Masters' study of the pioneer of Anarchist organisation is both exciting and stimulating. Bakunin's life was a great adventure – both in action and in ideas. His progress from an orthodox Russian upbringing to his gradual and total rejection of Christianity and the State took him through nationalism and republicanism to socialism and federalism, ultimately to become the protagonist of anarchism within the international.

He was a mountain of energy that poured itself into the revolutionary struggle; the need for action so perv aded his life that he never found time to write briefly, and poured massive letters (out of which whole books and pamphlets have been and can still be compiled) to those whom he felt would have the workers ear.

He was the father, perhaps not of anarchism (many have that claim), but of the anarchist movement as a fraction of working-class politics. There were years of building secret societies at a time when workers' organisations had to be secret in order to survive. Poor Nechaev comes off badly in Mr. Masters' book – particularly his *'Pamphlet 8'* – "extremely destructive . . . a terrifying picture of the revolutionary " – yet for all that, over a hundred years after it was written there is still no way for the revolutionist to proceed in Russia (or any other country for that matter) but by rigorous severity to himself, by total self-discipline and secrecy. The only thing that dates it is his call to join hands "with the bold world of the bandits". They have not survived the total dictatorship in Russia.

This is an important book on Bakunin but above all it is one that ought to be read extensively, as almost the first readable account of the life of the great revolutionary. Max Nettlau is the main source of every life of Bakunin, having treasured every anecdote, every scrap of paper, every piece of information in an excess of hero-worship that produced a manuscript impossibly long for publishing. Bakunin's life deserves to be better known: Masters' book, with a few reservations, tells the story of someone who not merely expressed the ideas of the social struggle and the battle for freedom, but lived it.

Stuart Christie

Art:
Faccia a faccia col nemico: Personaggi e interpreti dell; anarchismo in Argentina, illustrations by Pino Milas, text (Italian) by Cesare Della Pieta, 28pp., 27 x 39 cms., h/b £3.00, Quadragono Libri.
A graphic outline of libertarian militancy in Argentina from 1909 to 1936. A striking documentary of repression and class struggle. Quadragono Libri are to be complimented on producing two beautiful and inspiring books on heroic periods in the class struggle (Ravachol & Cia).

THE HISTORY AND PRACTICE OF THE POLITICAL POLICE IN BRITAIN, Tony Bunyan, 320pp., h/b £4.95 (Photographs and charts).

A definitive study of the political role of the police and intelligence agencies in Britain. Drawing on a wide range of documentary sources Tony Bunyan provides both a historical perspective and an up-to-date assessment of the forces of the State. It examines the Official Secrets Acts, incitement and sedition, telephone-tapping and mail-opening, the political role of the uniformed police, the Special Branch, DI5, military intelligence, the Defence Intelligence Staff, agents provocateur, the private security industries and the State's counter-revolutionary preparations, such as the National Security Plan. Special attention is paid to the ever changing methods and technology with which the State is arming itself to combat internal subversion and unrest in a time of increasing economic recession and class confrontation.
(To be reviewed in depth in the next issue of C.P. Review)

Julian Friedmann Publishers Ltd.

RUSSIA

THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION 1917-1921, Voline, 717pp., illustr., index, biographical note by Rudolf Rocker, Black & Red/ Solidarity (USA) 1974, card cover £3.50.
(Both the above titles are distributed in the U.K. by Cienfuegos Press).

HISTORY OF THE MAKHNOVIST MOVEMENT 1918-1921, Peter Arshinov, 284pp., illustr., preface by Volin, translated by L&F Perlman, Black & Red/Solidarity (USA) 1974, card cover £2.35.

These two basic anarchist histories are now available in full English editions for the first time, and together they provide a fascinating account of the libertarian aspects of the Russian Revolution and Civil War. Both authors were well-known Russian anarchists who took an active part in the events they describe

Arshinov's book was the first - and for a long time the only - full-length history of the Makhno movement. It has been the starting point for all other accounts (Voline's included) and remains the best study of the subject in any language. Later writers, such as Max Nomad and David Footman, have added little of substance to what Arshinov wrote more than fifty years ago. How surprising, then, that we have had to wait for so long for an English translation. Arshinov, who served on the Cultural–Educational Section of the Makhnovist Insurgent Army and editied its newspaper *Roads to Freedom*, was thoroughly familiar with the documents of the movement, many of which were subsequently lost. Between battles he worked on his manuscript, which was destroyed four times, twice at the front and twice during searches. Each time it had to be re-written, and it was finally completed in June 1921, on the eve of Arshinov's arrest by the Bolsheviks.

The original Russian edition was published in Berlin in 1923, after the author's deportation from his homeland. It contains a valuable preface by Voline, who also translated the book into German. The present English edition (translated by Lorraine and Fredy Perlman) is workmanlike if a bit too dry and literal. It is followed by a new appendix consisting of eleven Makhnovist proclamations translated from the Russian by Ann Allen. There is also a map of the Makhnovist region as well as six good illustrations, among them the handsome photograph of Makhno from which a widely distributed Black Cross poster was made a few years ago. Unfortunately there is no index.

The Unknown Revolution was completed shortly before Voline's death in 1945. Written in French it was first published in Paris in 1947. An incomplete English edition, translated by Holley Cantine, was published in two volumes in 1954/1955 by Freedom Press and the Libertarian Book Club but this has been out of print for several years. The present edition, in one large volume of more than 700 pages reproduces the Cantine translation while restoring the omitted sections (translated by Fredy Perlman). It is thus the first complete edition in English. It also includes the biographical sketch of Voline by Rudolf Rocker as well as 29 illustrations, two useful maps, and an index.

Like Kropotkin in his history of the French Revolution, Voline explores what he calls the "unknown revolution" in Russia, that is, the social revolution by the people as distinguished from the seizure of political power by the Bolsheviks. In rich detail he documents the creative efforts of workers, peasants and intellectuals to inaugurate a free society based on local initiative and autonomy. Libertarian opposition to the new Soviet dictatorship, above all at Kronstadt and in the Ukraine, receives extensive and sympathetic treatment. Though a trifle repetitious at times, it is an original and important work. With the partial exception of Arshinov, there is no ther book like it.

Both books, however, have their shortcomings. Arshinov suffers chiefly from an uncritical approach to his subject, while Voline (who presents a more balanced picture of Makhno) neglects the Individualist Anarchists, the role of the anarchists in the Revolution of 1905, and the role of women in the anarchist movement. On the other hand, both books were written in extremely difficult circumstances. Both, moreover, are pioneering works about a seriously neglected historical area. Both should be in every library and should be read by every person interested in the anarchist movement and the Russian Revolution.

Reviewed by Paul Avrich

Professor Avrich is the author of "The Russian Anarchists" and Kronstadt 1921", "Bakunin & Nechaev" and the editor of "The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution."

THE ANARCHISTS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, edited by Paul Avrich, Thames & Hudson, p/b £1.35p.

There is no reason why Anarchists, of all political tendencies, should stand and fall back on "their record". Unlike parties which offer themselves as leaders of the working class, and which should therefore be exemplars of behaviour, Anarchism rejects the cult of leadership and does not suggest that if one follows the protagonists of the idea, liberation follows; nor indeed that the protagonists of the idea must necessarily be in any way different from anyone else. Yet notwithstanding, one finds that time and again, the vision of Anarchism inspires people to heroism and self-sacrifice; while the would-be leaders, from the authoritarian parties, run away at the sign of danger and isolate themselves from all struggles but that for the leadership.

The Russian Anarchist Movement, so brilliantly depicted with illustrations, in this contribution to a general series on revolutionary history – is a perfect example of the moral heights which Anarchists reached in an outbalanced fight.

In Russia, the Civil War presented, as Avrich says, a dilemma to the anarchists as it did to the other left-wing opposition parties. "Which side were they to support? As staunch libertarians they held no brief for the dictatorial policies of Lenin's government. But the prospect of a White victory seemed even worse." They plunged in defence of the Revolution – which had been betrayed even before it began.

The working people themselves had everywhere overthrown the Tsar and established free soviets. They had power; the shaky fabric of the post-Tsarist Governments provided a background for the dramatic struggle between the power of workers, peasants, soldiers, and the re-establishment of State power. The political parties struggled for representation; which is another way of saying supremacy. Lenin – or rather Helphand-Parvus, was victorious. He co-operated with the German Government to bring Lenin back to Russia and into power using their money and power to build up the Bolshevik Government in order (as he thought) to further German national aims and Marxism, at one and the same time. It was Helphand-Parvus who was the father of the "Soviet" State.

Whether or not to collaborate was a source of deep concern to many anarchists. Some were far-sighted from the beginning; some (like Bill Shatov) thought "we must not criticise at this time" (always a fatal point of view, some (like Makhno) were able to fight on two fronts, and the most glorious chapters of the Russian revolution are those of the Makhnovista movement so grossly libelled by the Bolsheviks, in a manner which re-bounded on them, when the lie machine they built up was taken over by Stalin.

In Avrich's fascinating collection of documents there are incidents of the Russian Revolution one had never known before, for instance the joint action by the "Underground Anarchists" and the Left SR.s to bomb the headquarters of the Communist Party Committee – one of the few ways in which the dictatorship was vulnerable. Who now can say they were wrong to do so? – or that if followed up, their action would not have saved hundreds of thousands of lives?

Some of the manifestoes and declarations are startlingly topical. As always with such collections some documents are included which are scarcely anarchist by any but the most generous interpretation of the word. One may presume Tolstoy knew what he was talking about when he specifically said he was *not* an anarchist, but few historians are apparently prepared to admit he might know better than they.

It is inspiring reading all the same. It provokes comparison with other epochs, other countries, where the anarchist ideal has not become identical with struggle and can remain for years an esoteric doctrine with squat significance. The mere profession of its ideals is the simplest thing in the world and may conceal squalid motives. Yet when it becomes a real living force – such as it was in Russia – when it enters into the struggle for social change, and its fighters storm into history, it can always prove itself, as much in defeat as it might do with the triumph of its principles. For when the Anarchists lose out what wins? When the Anarchists are in defeat where is liberty?

Internationalist

ANARCHIST CLASSICS: The State - its Historic Role, Peter Kropotkin, **Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism**, Rudolf Rocker, **Anarchy**, Errico Malatesta, **ABC of Anarchism**, Alexander Berkman; Freedom Press

This series of well produced "Freedom Press' pamphlets should need no introduction to the anarchist movement. They are an integral part of its literature. It is a shame, however, that after so many reprints, Berkman's work could not be given in full instead of cut in half. But these are minor points. The pamphlets are a joy to handle and deserve to be widely read.

Have you ordered your **Black Flag** T-shirt for this summer? Other designs available include: **Pinelli Assassinato**, by Flavio Costantini & **SABATE, Guerrilla Extraordinary**, also by Flavio Costantini (£2.35 inc. p+p). Send crossed cheques with size (l.m.s.) to Cienfuegos Press No. 2a/c.

ETHICS – ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT, Peter Kropotkin, Prism Press, 349pp., £1.95 p/b., £4.50 h/b.

Peter Kropotkin returned to Russia after the Revolution in the first flush of enthusiasm following the downfall of Tsardom, but somewhat estranged from the Russian anarchist movement from which he had been absent for so long and because of his about-turn during World War 1. He found himself out of the mainstream of activity and, what was worse, tolerated by the new government (social democratic), and later by the Bolsheviks under whom he lived long enough to see the revolutionary movement annihilated. He tried to use his prestige to sway events or at least to appeal against the taking of hostages, but to no avail. It was in these circumstances, and in conditions of misery, that he sat down to write a work he had long formulated, on Ethics. He got no further than the first book, now reprinted, which is a history of ethics and traces their development from moral principles in nature, primitive peoples, the morality of Ancient Greece, Christianity, the enlightenment, and the ideas of the 19th century.

It was clearly his intention to state the case for rational ethics, a rational religion free from superstition, such as was probably suggested to him by his associations with the Ethical Society in London. It may have been that the task itself was of too great a magnitude ever to be completed; but in any event, he died while writing it. It is a fascinating book, but only an introduction: a reconstruction of how ethics developed, without much formulation of the new, libertarian, rational scale of ethics which were to be the subject of the finished work, th final part of his ethical trilogy – MUTUAL AID, MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM and the present ETHICS, ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

Kropotkin's funeral was the last anarchist demonstration in Russia; the last legally permitted non-Bolshevik demonstration. Prisoners were released from jail of their promise to return which in itself posed a nice problem in ethics. That, in the overwhelming number of cases they did return to jail, and in many cases to death, shows perhaps, that ethics must be the handmaiden of the State, as long as the State exists.

Stuart Christie

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS TOMORROW, Peter Kropotkin (a new edition of the Anarchist classic – introduced by Colin Ward), Allen & Unwin, h/b £3.95, p/b £1.95.

This is a beautiful edition of Kropotkin's great work, clean as a new pin production wise (a great commercial publisher coming up to the standard recently set by many new works on anarchism by penniless collectives in the past few months!). Colin Ward has revised it, but not drastically; what he has done is to prune the text of the original statistic, given in the original magazine form in 1888-90 and retained not only in the book (1899) but in subsequent editions. He has provided up to date statistics which make Kropotkin's work exciting. It was this work (together with Mutual Aid) which gave Kropotkin his reputation as social scientist. It appealed profoundly to the spirit of the time, both to the working-class movement, which sought scientific proof of what they knew by instinct, and to the liberal-minded bourgeoisie, who – pacified when they felt a revolutionist was not actually talking revolution – took it that revolution might in the finish be a painless adjustment of the economy which would preserve their privileges perhaps not intact, but at any rate for a fair part of the year.

The mildness of Kropotkin's social writing has deceived the liberal bourgeoisie and may still do: his ideas have significance only to those who are for revolutionary change, and the clarity of his vision is in stark contrast to the economic rubbish of today, the neo-Keynesian theories, the inflation myths and the national 'economic survival' saga – all of which are total verbiage; it 'deliberately contradicts the conventional wisdom of economics as enunciated both in his day and ours,' writes Ward.

The usual reproach to Kropotkin is over-optimism. But scientifically he is usually proved correct (his idea of Britain feeding herself, derided for years – "one could grow roses on top of Snowdon if one spent enough," wrote one bourgeois economist – wax proved correct during the war, when financial interest was not the barrier. He was not optimistic in thinking that his vision of the future would happen unless the State was destroyed. It was this that made hima revolutionary.

Internationalist

TYPESETTING REQUIRED?
BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, MAGAZINES, CATALOGUES, COMMUNITY PAPERS, ETC.
Contact **Marigold** at Cienfuegos Press for a reasonable estimate and list of available typefaces.

ALSO AVAILABLE:

A.B.C. of Anarchism, Berkman, 25p
Anarchy, Malatesta, 25p
The State – Its Historic Role, Kropotkin, 20p
Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rocker, 20p
Neither East nor West, Berneri (M-L), 35p

NESTOR MAKHNO

PROJECTED PUBLICATIONS:

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK, P.G. Maximov, 627pp., (facsimile reprint of 1940 edition).

"To G.P. Maximoff, the Russian purges, the famines, and recent imperialistic escapades are not things in themselves, but rather a part, an outgrowth of Marxist philosophy which finds its orientation in the writings and actions of Nicolai Lenin, and today has as its chief protagonist Joseph Stalin.

The Guillotine at Work serves a two-fold purpose:

First, to iconoclastically dispel the aureola Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him. From Lenin's own works, in the original, freely quoted in this book, the author reveals the true Lenin, his ambitions, his methods, his thoughts, before and during the revolution. He shows how Lenin was interested in attaining power and holding it as a dictator by means of terror. He presents a complete picture of this terror, directed against all classes, parties and groups.

Second, to arouse the slumbering conscience of workers, liberals and a sympathisers' world. This task the author accomplishes by presenting documents and letters from political exiles from year to year, the history, the horrors, and the persecutions of dissenters of Bolshevik dogma of the regimes of both Lenin and Stalin.

This is the first time that the public has had the opportunity to acquaint itself with the true character of Lenin, as judged from his own writings."

Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund

GENERAL

Too many chiefs Not enough Anarchists!

ANARCHISM LANCASTRIUM

THE ANGRY BRIGADE, Gordon Carr, V. Gollancz, 207pp.,Photos.,h/b £4.20

Gordon Carr, the BBC producer of the documentary of the same name, felt dissatisfied with the visual presentation of the politically and jurisprudentially complex story behind Britain's best known libertarian action group, *The Angry Brigade* , so he set himself the task of writing what will no doubt become the standard work on this subject...that is, this side of the revolution.

The book is an excellent summary of the background to and the development of the Angry Brigade and the trial of the *Stoke Newington Eight* , the eight people presented by the police and the D.P.P. as the hard core of the Angry Brigade. Despite Gordon Carr's obsession (passed on I may add from the *mysterious Special Branch sergeant* who detected and isolated the Situationist inspiration in the AB communiques who we can now reveal as Roy Creamer – now Inspector – Scotland Yard's eclectic dialectician) with Situationism as the main historical influence on the AB, which is totally baseless so far as the Stoke Newington Eight are concerned but which could, perhaps, be inferred from the language of the AB communiques which had more to do with poetry than explanation, it is reasonably politically fair to those of us who stood trial, understanding the libertarian beliefs of the defendants and the more wordy communiques of the AB itself.

However, it must be borne in mind that Gordon Carr is somewhat limited in that he has reached the conclusion that all those who were found guilty should have been, and all who were acquitted were innocent. Complete objectivity could not thus be obtained within the boundaries of the laws of libel. One defendant (myself) was alleged to have had explosives in his car and the jury, after almost six months carefully listening to the case, decided this was not true. The only possible inference from this decision can be that the police put them there; but while this can be said, it cannot be said that something similar might have happened to those found guilty. (The reverse also applies. The police would be quick to say, in fact did say this at a press conference immediately after the trial, but qualifying it with an "off the record boys").

Also, such a record can never be fully objective because by detatching a section from a whole and examining it under a microscope one may learn a lot about the section, but it is misleading rather than helpful. If in discussing the conduct of troops in battle the only references made concerned those who rushed over the top and charged the enemy, it would give a John Wayne atmosphere to military history. But these people would never have done it if they had been "isolated" or "elitist" as such an examination would show them to be. There were others there, some doing a lot more, some doing a lot less, some remaining patiently in the front line for years, some running away at the first sniff of NITRAMITE 19C...they all have to be considered as part of the battle without which there was no battle. To examine (as in effect Gordon Carr is doing) a few people in a foxhole on the Stoke Newington front, however meticulous it sets out to be, can never be very illuminating if one even forgets to mention there was a war on at the time.

The contrast between the police who know and said from the first that it was a political trial, and the judiciary who fell over themselves backwards to assure us that it was nothing of the sort as there were no political offenders in England, only political police (and even *they* were called Special Branch), degenerated into a farce at times, but a farce for real in which the playwrite could not insert in the programme *TEN YEARS LATER*. During the interval people have gone to prison for ten years and are suffering the monotonous rigours and passive violence of English jails.

Those who wish to learn from the mistakes of others would be wise to read this book.

Stuart Christie

THE VALPREDA PAPERS: The prison diaries of Pietro Valpreda, V. Gollancz, 315pp., £6.00 h/b.

The publication of *The Valpreda Papers* is a major event (notwithstanding the ill-informed introduction by Gaia Servadio, a journalist who has obviously not even read the book – imagining, for instance, that the Anarchist Movement in Italy *was destroyed by the Fascists and then it was revived in 1968...in Carrara!*

Valpreda was suddenly and without reason involved in 1969 in a major trial that shook Italy. The neo-Fascist movement (with its police ramifications) had tried to pull off a threefold coup – to smash the Anarchist movement, to spread terror in the heart of the working class, and to show the need for a law-and-order party. The reasons for attacking the Anarchist movement were because it was not involved in party politics as was the Communist Party and had therefore no "friends in high places"; the press had for years built up a "notoriety" tag; a blow at the libertarian movement would be damaging to the "Left" generally without involving State politics; and finally, it was thought the Anarchist movement would be isolated as Valpreda himself indeed was.

To some extent this may have boomeranged against the Fascists – but because of it the Italian State has kept Valpreda a prisoner for six years and totally ruined his life, rather than admit his innocence and the whole frame-up. The plot failed. But the State is stuck with its trial.

The book does not give the full story of the Milan bomb placed by the Fascists. Valpreda knew nothing about it then. He only knew he was picked up one day and blamed. The reason for his selection was not even mistaken identity, some element of which existed in the Dreyfus and Sacco and Vanzetti casea, later re-inforced by prejudice. He was picked out deliberately because he was a member of a situationist-type group that could be easily infiltrated by hostile elements than a working-class anarchist group – especially on a localised basis as they are in Italy. He was a dancer and it was thought he would have no working class solidarity to back him up. He was picked out and built up as the victim by the Fascists who committed the bomb attack in Milan against people visiting a co-operative bank. A few of the perpetrators – long after, and after great pressure – are now on trial. But their victim Valpreda has been – after touch and go as to acquittal on the score of justice – kept back to be tried along with them – rather than the State admit it lent itself to a gross injustice and a massacre.

By giving Valpreda's own thought day after day, month after month, as his long calvary dragged on, the diaries in a way give a deeper insight to the case than some of the straight documentaries have done, even though it does not relate the story. (Nothing excelled the two Swedish T.V. films on Pinelli and Valpreda which were shown in Britain in 1974).

Valpreda has been the subject of great calumny even by so-called libertarians who did their best to wash their hands of him once they heard of his problems – the suggestion that he was not really an anarchist at all (which the police seized on when it was discovered that the Anarchists could not be blamed at all for the Milan bomb, and an ideal solution for them would have been "fascist plot" – "anarchist catspaw", or even madman 'who thought he was an anarchist, disowned by anarchists'). Nobody could doubt his anarchism who reads the book – and it is hardly his fault – indeed it is his great misfortune – that the press have built him up as an "anarchist leader" simply because they happen to know his name. Some in the movement even now, want to dissociate themselves from Valpreda because he disagrees with them on one or two points – he not unnaturally welcomes politicians taking an interest in his case, for instance. How ossified organisations love to disclaim!

Valpreda does not answer his deprecators, and reserves his attacks for the class enemy. There is an essential dignity in his whole bearing that adds immeasurably to the sustained tragedy of his story. Faced with the vicious liars and male whores of the Italian press, whose barbs, innuendos and downright lies while he has been defenceless in prison recall the barbarities of the pillory, he has retained that dignity.

His observations from inside prison are acute and perceptive and throw a searing light on Italy today. It has been Valpreda's unsought-for-fate that he has become in life a symbol of the struggle, linked with Pinelli in death. PINELLI ASSASSINATED – VALPREDA INNOCENT – CALABRESI MURDERER! has been shouted, painted and sung throughout the country. Calabresi has met rough justice (or perhaps he was disposed of by those who feared it). But Valpreda goes on living. In life he records the prison scene in Italy – where the imprisoned rot on for years, and guilt or innocence is an irrelevance. He speaks simply but movingly of the class struggle and the great debate on socialism and liberty as it comes through to him in his cell.

In the face of personal tragedy, despair, the demoralisation that prison is intended to produce, Valpreda has gone on fighting. He has utilised his status as *anarchist prisoner* not to demand priviliges for himself as a "political offender" but to hammer home the message of freedom not only to other prisoners but to the world. His position was not of his choice. He was tied to the stake and had to face the torture...His choice was only whether to submit to the torture miserably or to assert not just his innocence but his faith. In choosing the latter he will be remembered, if social justice prevails, when the names of his hypocritical accusers – in Vanzetti's words – only recall that accursed past when man was wolf to man.

THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX Sidney Lens, Kahn & Averill h/b £1.50-p/b 85p 184 pp

On January 17, 1961, President Eisenhower appeared on American television to deliver his farewell address to the nation at the end of his eight-year term of office. The early part of the address contained nothing notable - just the usual platitudes his listeners had come to expect from a man who, as President, had never quite achieved the stature of the General who led the armies of the western allies into Europe. But suddenly listeners were astounded to hear him uttering a grave warning about a new threat to American democracy that had developed during his term of office. "In the councils of Government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, of the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist." The military-industrial complex was developing an influence "felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal Government."

During the ten years since Eisenhower's warning, the power of the complex has grown to alarming proportions and its influence extends to every facet of American life. An important book by Sidney Lens (**The Military Industrial Complex**) describes, in a masterly fashion with the aid of many quotations and references, how the complex developed, the elements of which it is composed, the way it operates, and argues convincingly that it has to be dismantled if peace is to be secure. The close ties between the military establishment and industry came into being during the second world war as part of the arrangements for the development and production of sophisticated new weapons. The large industrial firms were brought in under terms very favourable to them by means of development contracts under which all their costs were underwritten by the Government and a very adequate rate of profit guaranteed. This arrangement may have been useful in ensuring the necessary R & D was carried out during the war but it has been continued since the war, on a scale augmented every time a new scare about Russian weapon development blew up - scares which, in practically every case, were either initiated or blown up by interests that stood to profit greatly by each intensification of the arms race. Gradually a situation has developed in which a major part of the activities of many of the greatest industrial undertakings in the U.S. , bearing such well known names as Lockheed, Boeing, Douglas, General Dynamics, General Electric, Westinghouse, Dow Chemicals, and so on, comes from defence contracts. Thousands of senior retired officers are brought on to the payrolls of the industrial giants.

The nation is being taken for a ride. Money is being poured into wasteful and unnecessary projects Costs rocket to four or five times the original estimate on which a contract was given. The military-industrial complex has the strongest vested interes in maintaining the arms race, in allowing situations of confrontation to develop, in frustrating any real progress toward disarmament. At the same time it disposes enormous sums of money - taxpayers' money which it uses in the most brazen manner to manipulate public opinion.

But many others, apart from the military establishments and the big industrialists, are caught up in the military-industrial complex, live off it and, in the end, identify their interests with it. Many American academics are deeply involved. It may be a difficult decision for a university physics professor, for instance, who is offered a new laboratory provided he will allow part of the research programme to be oriented along lines suggested by the army. Lucrative consultancies are offered so that the salary of a professor ready to co-operate may be several times that of his colleagues who will not prostitute their talents in this way. To their shame many US university laboratories have fulfilled a key role in the development of defoliants, or fire, gas and anti-personnel bombs for the war in Vietnam. Leading universities like Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), John Hopkins, Stanford would be cut down drastically in size and prestige if their grants from military sources were withdrawn. For MIT, for example, in 1967-68 its budget was £70 million, of which £50 million came directly from defence sources. As Clark Kerr, the former President of the University of California before he was ousted by Governor Ronald Reagan, put it "intellect has also become an instrument of national purpose, a component part of the military-industrial complex. Of particular interest is the account given of the way leaders of the AFL-CIO, and many individual trade union leaders, have been caught up in the complex. Their role has been to help the military industrial complex in manipulating working class opinion in support of a stance of hard line anti-Communism. It has been particularly active in this direction abroad, working in the closest collaboration with the CIA, by whom it has been lavishly supported with funds. This is done through the setting up of international projects by leaders of the AFL-CIO. The 13.6 million members who belong to the unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO have no say in these international activities of their leaders and are kept in ignorance of them.

The military-industrial complex poses a threat not only to the interests and progress of the American people but to the prospects of lasting world peace. Fortunately the US people are becoming increasingly aware of the danger and are challenging the activities of the Pentagon. This book will supply them with ample ammunition to help them in their task.

Professor E H S Burhop

THE STATE, Franz Oppenheimer, introduction by C. Hamilton, Free Life/Black Rose Editions p/b £2.00

There are, at the very least, about one hundred books that libertarians should be reasonably well acquainted with. Within that wider group of books, there are about a dozen core classics.

After being out of print for years or circulating only in expensive reprints, *The State*, is now available for the first time in paperback. Free Life Editions (Black Rose) is to be congratulated for giving the libertarian community an attractive and inexpensive edition of this great classic. This book, first translated in 1914, now has a helpful introduction by editor Chuck Hamilton which places it in historical and intellectual perspective.

Looking at the nature and history of the state, Oppenheimer draws an important conclusion which is the central theme of the book: that the state never has been and very likely never could be the result of voluntary social compact. The origin and continuation of the state has nothing to do with voluntarism. It always has been and always will be the result of aggressive violence and continued predation.

The lesson to be learned from Oppenheimer is an extremely important one for libertarian political philosophy. Philosophical speculation, such as that by people like Rand and Nozick, which postulates both the desirability and possibility of attaining the "minimal state", can in this light be seen as misguided and misleading because it lacks the sense of history and understanding of politics, and shows no grasp of real world social analysis. The analysis of Oppenheimer and his libertarian follower, Albert Jay Nock, stands as the most effective antidote to the archist virus inherent in such conservative wishful thinking. (In fact, it would be my recommendation to read *The State* and Nock's *Our Enemy, the State* in tandem because their analyses complement each other so well).

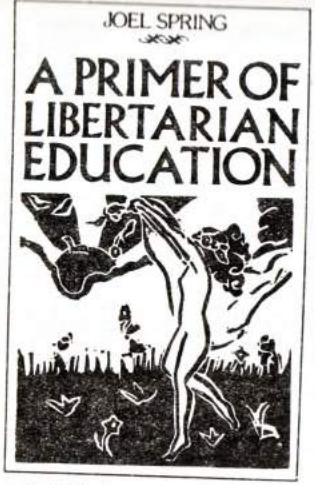
Oppenheimer makes the critical distinction between what he calls the "economic" means and the "political" means of gaining wealth. The economic means is the production and voluntary exchange of goods and services. Institutionalised or in the aggregate, the relations developed by economic means serve to become the free market, the free and peaceful society. On the other hand, the political means is the "unrequited expropriation" of the fruits of the economic means. The political means are plunder, theft and true exploitation. The institutionalisation of the political means is the state. In the aggregate, the relations developed out of the use of the political means serve to become the statist society, a society of conflict and exploitation.

In a society of conflict and exploitation, there are at least two basic categories: the producers and the parasites, or the ruled (the exploited class) and the rulers (the exploiting class). Those who have access to and control of the state apparatus become the ruling class. A group or class with such access must be quite small in relation to the remaining producing sector of of the society. Furthermore, the net beneficiaries of plunder are necessarily small in relation to the rest of the community. Conflict over access to the machinery of plunder and exploitation becomes a necessary and continuing way of life in a statist society.

Oppenheimer himself was not a libertarian and it took Nock, Chodorov and Rothbard to consistently integrate Oppenheimer's insights into libertarian theory. But even though he was not a consistent libertarian, his analysis is ultimately, perhaps, the only useful and meaningful analysis of the state – the state as an anti-social, exploitative menace. *The State* stands as a grand libertarian analytic pillar and should be read and fully digested by all serious libertarians.

Walter Grinder

Mr. Grinder is the author of many reviews and articles on revisionist history and economics in libertarian journals. His excellent bibliographical essay on Nock is included in the paperback edition of Our Enemy, the State. The above review first appeared in the Laissez Faire Review, New York.



A PRIMER OF LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION by Joel Spring

illustrations and bibliography;

FREE LIFE/ BLACK ROSE EDITIONS
p/b £2.00

Joel Spring, an Associate Professor of Education at Case Western University, has published widely over the last five years, both in book form and scholarly journals, his theories ragarding education-al practices – what is wrong with them and how they might be set right. The distinction between Spring and that multitude of labourers in the same vineyard (Holt, Kozol, Illich, Neill, *et al.*) who have attained notoriety among the general public lies in Spring's approach.

There are two basic and interrelated theses running through *A Primer of Libertarian Education* (and all of Spring's previous work as well):

1. Our present educational system is designed and functions to inculcate and perpetuate the values underlying a bourgeois society for the benefit of the class holding power in that society, and
2. It is futile to hope for reform in education unless a radical restructuring of our society precedes or accompanies it, including, in particular, the abolition of the present economic system.

It is possible to quarrel, as this reviewer does, with either or both of these contentions, but there can be no doubt that Spring has presented them more forthrightly than his colleagues.

A Primer of Libertarian Education is divided into six chapters, the first five of which present Spring's interpretation and critique of the educational theories advanced by William Godwin, Francisco Ferrer, Ivan Illich, Rousseau, Max Stirner, Tolstoy, Marx, A.S. Neill, Paulo Freire, Wilhelm Reich and Bruno Bettelheim. That's quite a crowd to be dealt with in such a small space, and the superficiality of Spring's analyses constitutes one of the major defects of the work. There is no discussion, for example, of the Berkelianism implicit in Stirner's thought nor, more ominously, of the intellectual nihilism that follows from Marxian theories of "class logic". Indeed, the egregious Marxism that colours the work, quite unnecessary to Spring's point, tends to spoil its true value in much the way it mars the insights of, say, Jessica Mitford.

Yet Spring is not another Marxist masquerading as an anarchist, for he finds, or thinks he finds, a single thread running through the thought of all those he discusses: the great evil of the present educational system is its authoritarianism, its treatment of the young as objects to be moulded into a form chosen by others to serve an end chosen by others, rather than as subjects autonomously acting to attain their own self-chosen goals. It is unfortunate, in this regard, that Spring did not choose to analyse and contrast the educational theories of today's foremost advocate of the child as-object, B.F. Skinner, but this is merely to say, unfairly, that I wish Spring had written a different book.

In his final chapter's synthesis, presenting most articulately his own views, Spring hammers home his point that the abolition of authoritarianism in education cannot come to pass in a social vacuum. It must be the outgrowth of the concurrent abolition of all those dependencies upon others that makes authoritarianism possible. Children must be made self-sufficient, Spring argues, economically, legally, even sexually. Above all, the authoritarianism necessarily engendered by the child's status as a member of the nuclear family must be done away with – by doing away with the nuclear family. The wisdom of such a proposal, and the moral implications of the means whereby Spring's goals might be achieved, are in my opinion doubtful, but the value of Spring's work lies as much in the clarity with which he recognises and demonstrates the interdependency of our educational system and all other social institutions as in the validity of his suggestions for improving any one of them.

Robert P. Baker

Mr. Baker, a lawyer, is the author of an essay dealing with legal aspects of compulsory education which is included in The Twelve Year Sentence. The above review first appeared in the Laissez Faire Review, New York, 1975.

POST-SCARCITY ANARCHISM, Murray Bookchin, Wildwood House, £1.40 p/b., £2.95 h/b.

Murray Bookchin's book has already become something of a classic among the libertarian section of the student-orientated "movement" in the U.S. and in spite of this and its pretentious title the collection of essays on organisation, ecology, workers' councils, France 68, Marxism, democratic centralism and so in, is a useful contribution to revolutionary thought. It is not quite the "bible" his many admirers would have it, for apart from the obvious impossibility of writing a libertarian bible Bookchin is too rooted in his time, place and background to make the leap into international anarchist theory and praxis.

He places too much emphasis on the scene he happens to find around him – the student scene, the drop-outs, the search for the alternatice culture and so on, which is sometimes a small part of the anarchist scene, and more often than not its complete antithesis. In his answers to Marxism – especially in Listen Marxist! (he has a penchant for off-putting titles)– one is reminded of the anarchist writers of yesteryear who, often heavily grounded in Christianity, brought Christian reasons and arguments to bear against Christianity: Bookchin's arguments are rooted in Marxism and while agreeing with much of what it says, I for one find it difficult to swallow his vision of Lenin as Commissar Frankenstein locked in struggle with the bureaucracy he helped to create. I find it hard to accept Lenin as victim: there were too many real ones.

More essential to the book is Bookchin's faith in technology: a faith shared by most capitalists as well as early socialists. Bookchin in his way, like Kropotkin before him, would argue reasonably and patiently that poverty is no longer an economic necessity. But this is to miss the point, which is that – from the point of view of the authoritarian – it is as necessary to repression as armed force. There is not much use in striving for power if there is nobody to oppress, control, manipulate. However, the idea that we are saved by technology and are already on the threshold of a post-scarcity period is not really essential to Bookchin's thesis – any more than the idea that socialism was part of an inevitable historical process was as essential to that of Marx and Engels as they believed. What is valuable and inspiring is his re-statement of anarchist thought in terms of modern science; we are certainly in no post-scarcity era – nor even on the verge of one – as regards the scientific discussion of the reorganisation of society in terms of stateless socialism.

ANARCHY AND ORDER, Herbert Read, Souvenir Press, 253 pp., £1.50 p/b., £3.00 h/b.

At the height of the police repression in Buenos Aires a few years ago, an anarchist group – to the amazement of the capital– hired a theatre and invited a foreign anarchist to address them. The secret police stood by paralyzed – dearly wanting to arrest the many well known militants who attended the meeting which was packed to overflowing, stopping the traffic outside in the street – yet prevented from acting because the speaker was Sir Herbert Read, visiting Buenos Aires as a guest of the Government, lecturing on art and education for the British Council. The lecture on anarchism was no temporising affair, either – it was a full blooded exposition of revolutionary anarchism.

This contradiction in Read – man of two worlds, the Establishment and its total antithesis – comes out clearly in 'Anarchy and Order'. His writing is always clean-cut, incisive, and at the roots of revolutionary anarchism. Yet when he refers to an encounter 'at a formal dinner of some kind' and his neighbour 'a lady well known in the political world, a member of the Conservative Party' asks him what he is, and taxes him with his 'absurdity', we catch a glimpse of the other Read, who incidentally does not reply.

It was in 'Poetry and Anarchism', reprinted here among other essays on anarchism – first published in the middle of the communist fellow-travelling thirties – that Read declared for a doctrine 'as remote as anarchism'. Actually it was not, at the time, all that 'remote' so far as the working class was concerned: but it was a considerable intellectual break with his fellow-travelling intellectuals, and the fashion of the time.

Later, he dates his conversion to 1912 ('My Anarchism') but this ignores the long gap between his early knowledge and predilection for libertarian socialism and his 'decalring for' the doctrine. Meanwhile years of conformity within the Establishment, combining easily with the heretical but respectable forms of socialism he adopted, had fashioned his character; he had become incurably liberal conformistic in his academic role, Dr Jekyll; but it affected neither his heart nor his pen, which were able, in his capacity as anarchistic Hyde, to produce such little masterpieces of the libertarian credo as are presented in this collection of his essays.

Stuart Christie

THE POLITICS OF OBEDIENCE: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude, Etienne de la Boetie, p/b £1.50.

"[La Boetie's] analysis of tyranny and his insight into its psychological foundations ought to be one of the central documents in the library of anyone concerned with human liberty. It is ironic that the works of Machiavelli, adviser to rulers, should enjoy widespread currency, while the libertarian La Boetie is muted. Hopefully, publication of his 1550 *Discourse,* with its superb introduction by Murray Rothbard, will right the imbalance."

Stanley Milgram

THE CHRISTIE FILE: Memoirs of an Anarchist, Stuart Christie, illustr., h/b £4.25 (June 1976).

In a moment of somewhat inaccurate lyrical ecstasy one newspaper described Stuart Christie as the best known anarchist since Peter the Painter. If indeed that worthy were really an anarchist, it is a commentary on Fleet Street that it knew not Kropotkin, Malatesta, Tarrida del Marmol and a score of other visitors to the se shores since, not to forget several generations of British anarchists. But to Fleet Street fascinated by its own caricature of anarchism, in a perpetual alcoholic daze as to what is fact and what is its own propaganda, Stuart Christie was a gift to them since the day he presented the image to them of one who went, kilted and sporraned, to the sound of pibroch, armed with skhean dhu, into sunny Spain in order to do battle with General Franco; or however else they ring the changes.

Stuart Christie 1968

His book is as much of a witty comment on Fleet Street as anything else; and he demolishes that propaganda factory with great gusto. He carries the reader along with him as he explores that desert of lies: the reader may be unaware until finishing the book that he leaves not only the propaganda factory factory in ruins but many of the cherished pillars of State which have their foundations in the sands of that desert.

To tell a story involving his experiences in Spanish and English Prisons, to have to go through the distressing story of Spanish repression and British frame-ups, ought to make for sad reading; but instead he tells it all with unexpected good humour and even at times knockabout rumbustiousness. Few political books manage ever to be readable, but he tells his story in a laconic style that makes it eminently so.

Seldom has the mickey taking of Fleet Street and the world press been so neatly served back at them: this is 'man biting dog' with a vengeance and a venom none the less deadly for being supremely comic. He presents a picture of the Special Branch at work against the Angry Brigade which makes for compulsive reading; not least because the casual way in which he shows how people angry with the Gas Board because their gas is cut off in the middle of winter do not appreciate the machinations of the British secret police.

Above all, this is a book of a committed Anarchist. No one can doubt the strength of his convictions however flippant the way in which he deals with his enemies. It is the anarchism of the international revolutionary movement and it is firmly in the tradition of the indigenous working class movement, something which seems to some a contradiction but isn't. Whether they are convinced or not, nobody reading through it can ever regard anti-anarchist propaganda in the same way again. The solemn package deal left libertarians and pacifist sectarians are going to hate it no less than the authoritarians – which will surely come out in the reviews. I fear he does not take great pains to hide his contempt for them; his fault, indeed, is embarassing frankness – even about himself. But there emerges from the book the portrait of an authentic revolutionary, caring immensely about freedom but quite prepared to stop for a wee dram of whisky; prepared to rush into the fray but joking about the enemy meanwhile. Not, surely, an unfamiliar figure in our proletarian history.

Albert Meltzer

Stop Press: *Michael Joseph, the London publishers who initially commissioned* **The Christie File,** *have decided - on the advice of their legal advisers - that they cannot now proceed with the publication of this title and they write to say they hope a "more courageous publisher can be found." Our present financial position prohibits us from proceeding with the book at the moment, but if we do manage to raise sufficient funds for this title by subscription we shall publish it ourselves at the earliest opportunity.*

STUART CHRISTIE & ALBERT MELTZER

THE FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY

Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer: **FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY**. 160p: Cloth £1.20/paperback 35p (distributed by Simian)

"Extremely important and interesting exposition of anarchist theory"

Sunday Times

A lucid examination of anarchist theory and practice by two anarchists active in the revolutionary struggle, this is a book that defines not only libertarian thought but helps to clarify the whole contemporary scene by the hard light it throws upon politics.

Posters

A series of laminated posters depicting the class struggle, published in aid of the Anarchist Black Cross.
Pyramid by Flavio Costantini.
3 colours.
now ready £1 (including p&p).

Preface by Marcus Graham/ Bibliographical acknowledgements/ List of defunct publications where many of the poems originally appeared/Introduction by Ralph Cheyney and Lucia Trent/ Dedication by Carl Sandburg/The Forerunners/The Moderns/Translations/Index/400 poets from 20 countries.

346 pp/Demy 8vo/p/b with four colour laminated cover by Flavio Costantini/£3.50 (US $ 8.00)

AN ANTHOLOGY OF REVOLUTIONARY POETRY

EDITED BY MARCUS GRAHAM

With a postscript by the editor for the 1976 Cienfuegos Press edition.

Subscribe to:

BLACK FLAG
organ of the ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

£2.50 per 12 issues. Canada, Australia, New Zealand (airmail) £5.00 per 12 issues ($12.00)
10, Meltham Road, Lockwood, Huddersfield, Yorks.

THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW OF ANARCHIST LITERATURE, Vol. 1 No. 1., 30p (+ 10p p&p)

Cienfuegos Press Ltd., (Mail Order Booksellers), Box A, 1 Exchange, Honley, Nr. Huddersfield, Yorkshire HD7 2AY. ISBN 0–904564–09–6

CIENFUEGOS PRESS LTD is an anarchist publishing group and we intend to publish a wide range of books covering all aspects of the ideas, art, history and literature of the revolutionary libertarian struggle. If you feeel you would like to help in our publishing programme there are many ways in which this can be done: you can make a donation, or you can make sure you order our books through your local public and college libraries, or bookshop, or you can order your books direct from us. We are faced with massive financial obstacles which must be overcome if we are to survive, and we can only survive with your active support.

The soaring cost of raw materials, production processes, mailing and other overheads has made it almost impossible for small independent publishing groups such as Cienfuegos and Simian to continue to publish anarchist literature with the ever dwindling financial resources available to us from sales turnover. The only way out of the present financial quagmire is for us to publish more books and pamphlets and for you to make sure either you or your local library order copies of all our publications. This will make more money available for the many new titles we have lined up for future publication.

A further drawback to our publishing programme was the recent last minute decision by Michael Joseph not to publish Stuat Christie's autobiography "The Christie File" on the advice of their lawyers for fear of inevitable libel actions. This unfortunate decision has deprived us of an estimated figure of £1,000 in paperback rights, plus any additional sum accruing from the sale of American and foreign publishing rights.

To overcome these problems we would like to appeal for financial help from any comrade or sympathiser willing to help finance the publication of two specific Cienfuegos Press publications: **The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement,** edited by Albert Meltzer and **The Anarchists in London 1935-55:With a postscript on the following 20 years,** also by Albert Meltzer. Both these manuscripts have been typeset and are ready to go directly to the printer. They could be out within two months – all we require is the money to cover the publication costs of both titles – £2,000!! It is our aim this year to publish the above two titles plus Marcus Graham's **An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry,** and we believe that if we manage to raise the above sum it will give us sufficient working capital to solve our present and future problems. In the meantime we need every penny we can lay our hands on.

A record of all contributors and subscribers to this fund will appear regularly in **Black Flag,** the next edition of **The Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature,** and in those books we publish this year.

All cheques and P.O.s should be crossed and made payable to: Cienfuegos Press Ltd., No. 2 a/c, and sent to us at 1, Exchange, Honley, Huddersfield HD7 2 AY, Yorkshire.

ABOUT OURSELVES

Anarchist publishing in this country has been established for over a century. There were early Anarchist papers such as Ambrose Cuddon's *Cosmopolitan Review*, *The Anarchist, The Thunderer,* and so on, before the founding of *Freedom* in 1886 by Mrs. C. M. Wilson and Peter Kropotkin. The anarchist period of *The Commonweal* must also be remembered, and the real founder of international anarchism in this country (though not the first anarchist) Frank Kitz. With the turn of the century came many other papers, *The Voice of Labour, Solidarity, The Anarchist* and their associated presses.

One of the longest to run was *Freedom* and *Freedom Press* (established in 1886) which published an unbroken series of well printed pamphlets on anarchism, as well as a monthly paper, until 1928. It was revived in 1939, publishing *War Commentary* and a new series of anarchist pamphlets; and by a new group (1944 to the present) with the present *Freedom.*

The Black Flag Group including some who had been in the second period of Freedom Press, in the Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee (publishing *The Syndicalist* monthly); in the Syndicalist Workers Federation (publishing *Direct Action*) and in the *Cuddon's Group* (publishing the updated version of *Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review*) and forming a cross section of the anarchist movement in general and a representative selection of the revolutionary wing in particular – established its paper **Black Flag** in 1970.

Originally the Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross, **Black Flag** has become the organ of an international revolutionary fraction. It follows "classical" class war anarchism and is incisive and witty in its approach to the social struggle. **Cienfuegos Press** is a publishing house for the tendency represented by **Black Flag;** though it publishes other books as well; under the **Simian** imprint we are publishing pamphlets of general agitational interest.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW & CATALOGUE

Our catalogue will be sent free to all customers who order more than £3.00's worth of goods at least once a year. Each time you order by mail, your subscription will be extended one year from the date of your order. Non-customers may subscribe for 60p a year (2 issues).

Owing to the recent increase in postal rates we are obliged to ask that all orders be accompanied by a surcharge of 40p, or 10p per book, whichever is greater, to help us cover part of this enormous jump in postage costs.

Why passports? Why immigration restrictions? Why not let human beings go where they wish to go, North Pole or South Pole, Russia or Turkey, the States or Bolivia? Human beings must be kept under control. They cannot fly like insects about the world into which they were born without being asked. Human beings must be brought under control, under passports, under finger-print registrations. For what reason? Only to show the omnipotence of the State, and of the holy servant of the State, the bureaucrat. Bureaucracy has come to stay. It has become the great and almighty ruler of the world. It has come to stay to whip human beings into discipline and make them numbers within the State. With foot-printing of babies it has begun; the next stage will be the branding of registration numbers upon the back, properly filed, so that no mistake can be made as to the true nationality of the insect. A wall has made China what she is today. The walls all nations have built up since the war for democracy will have the same effect. Expanding markets and making large profits are a religion. It is the oldest religion perhaps, for it has the best trained priests, and it has the most beautiful churches; yes, sir.

Bruno Traven, The Death Ship, (First published Germany 1926)

PRINTED PAPER RATE

Cienfuegos Press Ltd.
Publishers, Distributors and International Mail Order Booksellers,
1 Exchange, Honley, Huddersfield HD7 2AY, Yorkshire.

ADDRESS